THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY
ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY
ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

The Christian Socialist

VOL. III. No. 4. DANVILLE, ILLINOIS, FEBRUARY 15, 1906. Whole No. 44

# The Gospel of Corporate Man

BY PETER E. BURROWES

("The content with which naturalists accept nature, the feeling that this nature is a part of themselves and they of it, the unexpressed but ever-existing supposition that the whole is good, is closely akin to the reconciliation with the Omnipotent which is the declared goal of most religions. In it there is something of the peace of God which passeth understanding." From "The Interpretation of Nature" by Prof. N. S. Shaler,—p 300-1.)

## I. THE ONE LIFE

1. The whole divine-and-human life, its interests and developments, are outside of what is known as the self-conscious ego life.

2. The race may be considered as a physical unit, animated by one mind which is called God, who seeks to establish a conscious co-operation with every part of his continent of flesh and mind.

3. The religious social life is the cultivation of a race consciousness against a self consciousness.

4. The relations between God and the human race are collective and external. He is the husband of the whole world. The affection and life of our God is imparted to no less than the whole, and his first object is to unite our whole race into one spirit of fellowship, that we may in this life taste the full blessings of civilization, and thus be preserved into a spiritual manhood for ever. Hence a man can spiritually approach God in prayer only as he represents and prays for society, and he can utter morals only as he reflects the transition from a single life to the plural life of the age. And a man can be moral only as he is in the spirit and activity of this change.

He is a moral philosopher who stands as the mediational interpreter from day to day between the two lives; and that only is morality whose dynamic is an effort to organize individuals into unions, combinations, classes, or any form of organic social life. He is immoral who stands for individualism.

5. The greatest gift that can come to a man is the social vision—that by which he comprehends the phenomena of life as meaning one thing—the single glance-perception into which at last all the thoughts of his life and experiences are focused into one truth, his broken inclinations into one will, his many senses of wrong into one indignation; in a word, the individual is saved from anarchy and self, and into the power of social service by a "new birth" of self concentration into a truth and a purpose outside of himself. This makes the agitator, this makes the evangelist with power—to be concentrated upon a thing external so as to become self-unconscious in it, and to grow cause-conscious.

6. The individual man may so alienate his mind from the common welfare and for his own seeming welfare only, as to have no part nor lot in the life of the race. When he is in this state of treason, the fatherhood of God has no power to reach him save as an organized animal body. Outside of the fellowship circle (that is the circle of the social conscience, intellect and desire) the life cannot reach one person. But the doors are ever open for the mind to enter the social family. Thus the depersonalization of the single life, and the personalization of the city is the path of the righteous; thus the city and state is the table upon which we lay all our faith, all our hope, all our charity.

7. All forms and states of strife, combat, and competition are repulsions and isolations towards the inflowing of the life. Wherever such condition may be, whether it be mental or overt, it is a privation and a grievous hurt to every human soul. It is therefore the first concern of one who desires life, to remove out of all the world every occasion of strife or competition, and to disuse, oppose, and separate himself from any custom or doctrine that promotes discord or division of interest. And let no man lay a law down for you, telling you just how this or how that should be by economic, political, or cosmic law. No man has yet discovered any law having any authority above the intellect of the discoverer and greater to you and to me than the authority of his assertion.

Man observing phenomena soon discover what appear to be laws outside or within the phenomena and which direct the phenomena. These laws are however, like the laws of grammar, only laws of observing. They are conveniences of expressing the observer's mental sensations. The law of life is one, the voluntary surrender of the personal man to the impersonal brotherhood of fellowship of the world; it is my spiritual or religious identity with society.

8. Small as the drop of life may seem to be which can fall to any one creature out of the sum of the life of the race, that little drop may be diminished by his own lack of a tranquil faith in the whole human fellowship. But even his own faith, however strong, will not suffice while war and anger and competition rage in other lands. A loss in one part diminishes the gain in every other. If there be any law it is this social law of equilibrium and compensation and adjustment in the human sea of life, and no day escapes it. The gods have sinned exceedingly; if the cross means anything today, it stands for this call upon the gods and heroes of the world to repent, it stands for the trial and condemnation of the world's heroes and rulers, and all who have made themselves inordinately full, easy and great out of the world's famine, toil, and debasement. When you look upon the cross remember that the only sinner is the state, and that separately the citizens are its victims. He therefore who takes to his ambitious soul the scepter and authority of the state takes upon him the sin of the state, and only in that can he become guilty even to the cross.

9. Fellowship is at once the ideal, the means, the daily life and the crown of civilization.

10. Who told you, America, that the pursuit of life, liberty, and happiness was the purpose of our birth? Man was born for association—no more. But when he attains to that for which he was created, the whole of every other possibility will be included.

11. Happy indeed and tranquil is the soul resting on the verities of democracy, not upon the ego satisfactions of *I* with self. Every age and every experience, however, will have had this latter sort of contented optimism, from which God must deliver us or let us be hell. Not that; but the satisfaction which knows self to be of the whole, of the greater life—a little unmeasurable, undefinable, almost unknowable atom of *the all* but still of it,—this faith is humility and strength and healthy content and charity.

12. Atheism and individualism are the complements of each other; they are inseparable, and they do mutually and alternately bear to each other the relation of cause and effect. A sincere belief in God must logically lead the mind to an equally sincere belief in the unity of the race; therefore also atheism and competition belong to each other.

13. It does not appear that God anywhere manifests himself as an object of worship, but it does appear that he is everywhere manifested as an energy for and in the human family, uniting and binding us together in the bonds of sympathy and fellowship, than which if there be any worship pleasing to God none can be more pleasing. God, seeking self-realization, throws himself upon our race: we, seeking social realization, throw ourselves upon God. He finds it hard to be many. We find it hard to be one.

Truth is virtue, and as such is never the product of strife between individuals in debate, or any other sort of conflict.

It is only by the surrender of one's self to the community thought,—that is, by the virtuous thinking,—that we can realize what is and what is not arterial truth; for as it has been well epigrammed in another connection, it is a condition and not a theory. This power of seeing socialism to be right is not attainable by the mere selfist, because it is not to the investigator so much a theory as a condition. No mere demonstration of words can convince a man of socialism. It has taken able men years to get hold of the simplest truth of socialism.

14. It is from the mind of the race that its environments are moulded (other than nature's.) It is in the faith and courage of his ideals that man can remove mountains. It is by the mind that governments are reformed or deformed. Therefore the teacher is greater than the king, and the voice greater than the cannon, the pen greater than the sword. The mind will batter down the walls of despots before the externalist has learned where to strike. But this mind is in constant fluctuation between the apparent real and the non-apparent real; the apparent real being the personal life and the non-apparent real the impersonal or common life. The character of a life in the first of these reals is called its soul—in the second it is the spirit (not *his* spirit.) The soul is the pupil of the spirit and that which we call faith is its energy. Now faith is both the evidence and the substance of the plus-personal life. Faith has but one volition—the profit of the race. It has but one inspiration—the profit of the race. It has but one manifestation—one justification—the profit of the race.

15. Fellowship can be taught in the kindergarten, it can be spelled out by every well-chosen, well applied word. It can be established, and is established in the mind of him who studies it for the race; and will be already a reality even before the occasions for applying it are at hand. Those who study the laws of mental fellowship will be adding to the wealth of the race by every clarified thought, and we shall in a measure possess it before the world is ready to let us live it, because the fellowship we wish to see accomplished in society is but our natural restoration to one another, it is but the reclamation and real society of a race fallen from social grace to isolate depravity. The grace which they have fallen from has left them spiritually disinherited and empty animals, not fit for brute life, and unready for spiritual life. The redeeming power of God is the social power, the spiritual ethic energy, by which the intellect and will of every man may be impregnated and is impregnated by social contacts. To translate these intimations of God, given to us through society, into "I wills" and habits is the process of the spiritual life; to return every day into the spiritual social circle until I am become, despite my fall, a spiritual and social expression, is *Salvation*.

16. Life is no more and no less than the communication of what I am to you. And spiritual life, or the fellowship existence, is neither more nor less than the communication of what God is to

(*Continued on page 8*)

# Beautiful Words and Deeds

EDITED BY MRS. ELLA CARR

Boston, Mass.

**My Dear Comrade:**

"The Christian Socialist" is aiming at the most important work which the twentieth century demands; the reconciliation of Christianity and Socialism. I should not use the word reconciliation, either, for in my mind Socialism, in the full economic sense, is the natural consequence of Christianity. Unfortunately, not many people, whether Christians or Socialists, agree with us; hence, the need for your paper. With all best wishes for the progress of The Cause through your efforts.

Fraternally yours,

VIDA D. SCUDDER.

Some time ago Dr. Geo. W. Cooke, of Boston, Mass., wrote us about her as follows: "On Wednesday at the Boston Authors' Club, I met Prof. Vida D. Scudder, of Wellesley College, who expressed to me the greatest interest in the Socialist movement and wish to help the cause. She has joined the Inter-Collegiate Society and the Collectivist Soicety in New York. She is an able woman, has published two or three admirable books, in which Socialism comes out strongly, and is a great addition to the ranks. She said she wished to do active work forSocialism in the colleges as soon as she can see what is to be undertaken. She is a bona fide Socialist, not a literary dilettante, who chooses to play with the idea."

We give the above because we want to get more women interested in Socialism. They are greatly needed in the ranks. They have abilities that ought to be utilized, and the men will work better if the women sympathize with them and encourage them.

We are glad to know that other prominent women are coming into our ranks. All women need to be aroused as many of them are bearing burdens too grievous to be born and suffering untold wrongs, from which Socialism alone will free them.

◆

We are glad to say that the regular monthly pledge list to the C. S. is increasing, for which payments, certificates of stock will be issued by the Co-operative Printing Co.

◆

It is certainly complimentary to this paper, that so many who request us to send them a sample copy of the C. S. soon after subscribe for it. This should encourage our friends to distribute it. Order a bundle and note the results.

◆

C. R. Hussey recently sent us six two-year subscriptions to the C. S. On the list are two public libraries. This is commendable and suggests that Socialist clubs should not miss their opportunity of doing much good by getting Socialist books and papers into their home library. Many, perhaps, are already doing so, and many more should do so as soon as possible. The people are hungry, let them be fed.

◆

W. E. Boynton, of Ashtabula, Ohio, is not only paying a monthly pledge to the C. S., but has sent for subscription cards to get us more subscribers. How many will do likewise?

◆

Dr. Levi Parker, of Boston, Mass., has sent in eight yearly subscriptions. Seven of the list are preachers. We have had a number of different subscribers send us lists of ministers which they paid for themselves. When the preachers get waked up they will wake up their congregations. So continue this excellent method of propaganda, for you are working on great centers of influence.

◆

**Rufus W. Weeks of New York City recently spent a Sunday in Danville. Mr. Carr greatly regretted that he could not be here to receive his friend but Mrs. Carr and children were very glad to have that pleasure and were sorry his stay was so brief. Mr. Weeks is doing much for the Cause and we honor him for his noble work. He said while here, Danville is becoming famous all over the country on account of the Christian Socialist published here.**

◆

The Boys' World, an alleged Sunday-school paper for boys, holds up Corey, the steel trust magnate, as a sample of what a poor boy can become. Corey, the man who is notorious for his relations with women, is a nice thing to hold up before the boys to follow! Yes, boys, get rich like Corey, and you can own a harem, and the world will rise up and honor you, and the alleged Christian papers will point you out as a model for the next generation. For money papers will sell their honor.—Appeal to Reason.

◆

The Schmitz party, of San Francisco, is endeavoring to extend its field of operations throughout the State of California, under the title of "Union Labor Party," with Eugene Schmitz the prospective candidate for governor.

◆

On February 20th, Arthur Morow Lewis will meet Keb Hariman in public debate in Simpson's Auditorium, Los Angeles. Subject: "The Socialist Party vs. Union Labor Party."

# MILWAUKEE CITY CONVENTION

The largest and by far the most interesting city convention ever held by the Social-Democrats in Milwaukee, met Jan. 27 to adopt a municipal platform for the coming campaign. The city ticket is now being chosen by a referendum of the party membership. But the interest in the platform alone was sufficiently strong to occupy the attention of the delegates until one o'clock a. m. The debate was earnest and thoughtful, and was not marked by one bitter or uncomradely word. There was considerable variety of opinion in regard to the details of the platform, but a remarkable unanimity as to its general policy.

The City Central Committee had elected a Committee to draft a platform and report to the city convention. This draft was read to the convention and carefully discussed, paragraph by paragraph. After the most thorough consideration, the original draft prepared by the Committee was adopted almost verbatim.

One of the interesting points of the discussion was in regard to the office of constable. The new city platform calls for the abolition of the fee system for justices of the peace and constables. It was suggested that the Social-Democratic party make no nominations for constables, on the ground that the Social-Democrats should not do "such dirty work." The instance was cited of one of our Social-Democratic constables who, from his scanty means, had paid rent for a poor family rather than perform the unpleasant task of evicting it. However, the suggestion was not adopted. It was pointed out that the constables work was only the logical result of the capitalist system. To be consistent, if we refuse to nominate constables, we must also refuse to nominate justices, and even a mayor.

One of the most interesting debates was upon public school education. Another fruitful topic was the issuing of bonds for the establishment of municipal plants.

The platform as adopted, after briefly outlining the general aim of the Socialists, and their relation to municipal affairs, makes eleven demands. 1. "City ownership and management of all public service enterprises, as far and as fast as the state laws will allow." Where this is impossible at present, no franchise to be granted to street or steam railways or telephone companies, except on condition that "the entire property is to revert to the city without compensation at the end of a specified time." Or that the city may take it over at any time at its actual value, that the stock, trackage or the wiring, etc., be kept in good condition and the cars not overcrowded, that the city receive a yearly revenue from the company, that the company observe the eight-hour day and recognize trade unions, and that all franchises be endorsed by a public referendum. 2. That the city shall regulate the price of gas. Organized labor at an eight-hour day shall be employed by the city. Contract labor to be abolished when possible, and when it is unavoidable, contractors must employ organized labor. 3. Corporations shall be compelled to pay their rightful taxes. 4. Work shall be provided for the unemployed and a public coal and wood yard and a public ice house established. 5. The city shall provide attorneys for the poor, the number of aldermen and supervisors shall be reduced and their pay raised to a reasonable compensation, and the fee system abolished for justices and constables. 6. Free medical service shall be extended and adequate hospital service and a public crematory provided. 7. Public baths shall be erected and plumbing and sewerage be done in all dwellings by the city at cost, the same to be paid for in yearly installments. 8. Free school books, etc., better salaries for assistant teachers, and the large hall in each school building to be open for public meetings of any nature. 10. A city Labor Temple, and free concerts. 11. A compulsory holiday on election day, employers violating this provision to be fined.

E. H. THOMAS,
State Secretary.

## BOOKS YOU SHOULD READ

(Order of the Christian Socialist.)

**Rebels of the New South,** by Walter Marion Raymond. Price $1.00. The most beautiful, delightful, pure and wholesome Socialist novel printed. Walter Thomas Mills said of it: "I sat up all night reading the book in the midst of the hottest campaign in which I have recently been engaged. A book that can hold me that way will certainly interest others."

**The Recording Angel** by Edwin Arnold Brenholtz. Price $1.00. A story of tremendous **grip.** (I finished it at 2:30 a. m.—E. E. C.) The plot is worthy of Conan Doyle; the action rapid, intense; the interest unflaging, the spirit and purpose noble, sweet and strong. It will surely make Socialist votes.

**The Jungle** by Upton Sinclair. Price $1.35. This latest Socialist novel is making a great sensation. The first edition is 30,000 copies, most of them ordered in advance. It is startling and terrible. More fact than fiction. Eugene V. Debs says of it: "In this fearful story the horrors of industrial slavery are as vividly drawn as if by lightning. It marks an epoch in revolutionary literature."

**The Principles of Scientific Socialism** by Rev. Charles H. Vail. Manila cover, 35c. Able and easy to understand.

**The Struggle for Existence** by Walter Thomas Mills, Price $2.50. In clubs of five or more, $1.50 each. Generally acknowledged to be the greatest Socialist book in the English language, clear, concise, comprehensive, convincing.

## THE CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST FELLOWSHIP

EDITED BY REV. LUCIEN V. RULE, GOSHEN, KY.

### THE GREATER LOVE

Come walk the lowly ways of life with me,
Serving together in the Greater love—
Not love that like a gentle lady's glove
Fits self alone, from thought of others free;
But love consuming both to do and be,
And bring the Goodly Kingdom from above.
Whose bosom like a moaning woodland dove
Yearns deep, maternal, toward man's misery.
On Labor's back no grievous load it lays,
But leadeth Toil in paths of peace and praise;
A love enlarging, ever young and new,
Yea, love that changeth yet continues true,
Like yonder beauteous and abysmal blue
Whose ageless glory greets our upward gaze.

L. V. R.

One of the last and most matured utterances of Henry Drummond was this opinion and prediction: "Given good men, such men as were produced even by the self-centred theology of an older generation, and add **that wider outlook and social ideal** which are coming **to be the characteristics of the religion of this age**, and Christianity has an equipment for the reconstruction of the world, before which nothing can stand." Such consecrated, socially educated and experienced men are more and more in demand in our Fellowship work. And to give sincere ministers and laymen "that wider outlook and social ideal" is the peculiar mission of the propaganda Comrade Carr is conducting, and the paper he is editing. I note a new tone in the spirit and preaching of each minister who has sincerely read this paper, and I have lately seen the congregation listening with new eagerness.

The reported ill health of Comrade Stitt Wilson brings sadness to many hearts that love him. How often have we not heard his old comrades of the Social Crusade speak familiarly and fondly of him; and how glad we will be to hear of his recovery. We need him still.

The work in Indiana has grown in a gratifying manner of late. Comrade Strickland has resigned his pastorate at Columbus to enter the field as an evangelist of the Fellowship, and to answer the many calls for lectures under regular Socialist auspices. Services every Sunday evening at Labor Hall in Columbus. The Wailesboro church has revived, organized a large Sunday School, gathering in all the young men of the community, with our Fellowship comrades, Drs. Carmichel and Edwards as teachers, and a full house every preaching day. A new and earnest group at Grammer has been organized, with a clear vision of the Kingdom. A strong congregation at Clifford hears the word, and Jonesville is a possible opening. This circuit is more than self-supporting. I will assist Comrade Strickland during February and maybe longer. A conference of the Indiana and Kentucky Fellowship organization will be held the middle of February.

The preaching on our work is invariably followed by a desire for a social revival. The people not only want to know the Christ message on the social problem, but they want to get together and work together for the Kingdom of God among men. Utica, Ind., is now a thoroughly awakened town. I preached there Jan. 24th in the Baptist church, now open to us once a month. The local Methodist pastor and several of his earnest workers were present and assisted in the meeting, which filled the house. The Methodist congregation is possibly the most prosperous materially, and this interest means that our message has at last reached some to whom much has been given. A joyful feature, and one that is destined to have a far-reaching effect on our whole movement, is the devoted aid of the women, who cannot be reached in any other way, but who will prove potent workers under our Fellowship auspices.

One of the best meetings of the winter was held at a community hall near New Albany, Jan. 19th. A public discussion of the social problem was held, lasting till midnight, the large audience still deeply interested. Comrades Goodman, Daily, Schreiber, and I spoke for Socialism, and Messrs. Vance, Emery, Coffman, and Hinds against it. The striking thing about the meeting was the attempt of the opposition to uphold capitalism from the religious standpoint. Our comrades so effectually replied from both the economic and moral points of view that an officer in the local Presbyterian church asked us to give them a service in February. We will supply their pulpit if the way opens. The whole community was thoroughly stirred. We greatly regret to report the departure of Comrade Goodman for St. Louis. He goes to find a better opening for himself and family. Capitalism in Louisville smites at men of conviction, and we lose a right arm in our Fellowship work by our comrade's departure.

The outlook in Louisville and Kentucky is promising. The Louisville local is trying to secure a vacant church building in which we can hold regular Sunday services for the masses and lectures on other occasions. Comrade Chas. Dobbs has this move in hand and will also be available for lectures. Careful, personal investigation has convinced us that a strong and aggressive Fellowship work can be started in the Falls Cities. Comrade Strickland will come down about March 1st, and a series of services and lectures will be arranged for him extending out into the towns around Louisville. We are aiming to so organize that we can receive Fellowship speakers the coming year, as we believe our movement will be national after the conference. This is what we are planning and doing under my personal notice. Let other comrades report their work, as it will inspire us all.

◆

Nucla, Colorado.

Dear Comrade:—I have been much interested from the start in the discussion of the question of a C. S. F. organization and heartily favor it. I have taken the Christian Socialist now a year next month and regard it as several others, whom I have induced to take it, as the best Socialist paper in America. We held an informal meeting to discuss organizing a local here yesterday, and will continue the matter next Sunday. We have large numbers of Socialists here; members of the Colorado Co-operative Co., but unfortunately the most of them are non or anti-religious. I would think it best to make the movement cooperative with the Socialist party and churches, like the W. C. T. U. and Y. M. C. A., and not too distinct or independent of them.

Should be glad to attend the National convention when held, but have spent so much all of my life for reform work, can not afford it now.

It seems sure that if the movement is rightly officered and managed it will become the most fruitful of good results, of any ever started in the history of our beloved Republic.

Fraternally, CLAYTON WOODS.

## DOWAGIAC, MICH., SOCIALIST PLATFORM

(We will gladly reprint the briefer and better city and state platforms to show our readers the practical plans of Socialists.)

"**Workers of the world unite; you have nothing to lose but your chains. You have a world to gain.**"

**1st.** We believe every man is entitled to a job. **All the time**—not a part of the time.

**2d.** We believe with Lincoln, that every worker is entitled to the **full product of his labor**—not a small part of it.

**3d.**..To secure these, we believe **all the people**—not a small part of them, should own the productive utilities. It is appalling to think ten men could stop every wheel in our vast railroad system, paralyze every industry and in sixty days starve and freeze tens of millions of our people. He must be blind indeed who cannot see a crisis rapidly approaching. The producers are in vast majority but it behooves them to **hang together politically** to insure against **hanging separately** when the crisis comes.

**4th.**..We believe with Frances Willard that **competition is doomed.** That competition is war and war is just what General Sherman said it was. That the wastes of competition would support the whole nation better than one half the people are supported now.

5.... We believe the above favored conditions would give all workers shorter hours and not only the necessities but **the luxuries of life** as well.

**6th.** We believe in and advocate the **civic and political equality** of the sexes.

**7th.** We not only believe in the **initiative, referendum and recall,** but are working out these important principles in our own party organization, teaching the world how it can be done, state and nationally, to the utter exclusion of all bosses, boodlers and bribers in our party. Every candidate on our ticket has signed his resignation in blank, as to date, and filed it with the committee chairman making himself subject to recall, if, when elected, he fails at any time, to stand for the principles of the party.

**8th.** We favor the **secret ballot, free and untrammeled** and would disfranchise for life the vote buyer, vote seller, briber, intimidator and all guilty of election frauds.

**9th.** We hold that **labor pays all the taxes**; that the men who labor—not one-half of whom can spare enough from their income in a lifetime to accumulate taxable property under the present system—really pay all the taxes just the same. We therefore, favor prudent economy in our city affairs.

**10th.** We favor **municipal ownership,** not only of water and sewer systems, but of lighting plants, city and commercial, telephone and street car lines.

**11th.** We favor an **8 hour day** for city labor and no contract labor.

**12th.** We would grant **no franchises,** except by majority vote of the people and if any are exempted from taxation we would exempt **the poor** and **not** the rich.

## "THE JUNGLE"

Princeton, N. J., February 8, 1906.

Owing to the rush of advance orders, the publication of "The Jungle" has been changed from February 15th to February 23rd. An order for 1,000 copies has been received by cable from an Australian publishing house, and a similar one from William Heineman, a London publisher. Including the two editions, the first printing of the book will be 30,000 copies.

**THE JUNGLE PUBLISHING COMPANY.**

# *THE CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST*

ISSUED SEMI-MONTHLY

*Published by THE CO-OPERATIVE PRINTING COMPANY,*
*134 North Vermilion Street, Danville, Ill.*

SUBSCRIPTION PRICE 50 CENTS PER YEAR

*ENTERED AT THE POSTOFFICE AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER*

EDITORS:

EDWARD ELLIS CARR, - - - - Danville, Illinois
OSCAR F. DONALDSON, - - - - Webster City, Iowa

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS:

GEORGE WILLIS COOKE, - - - Boston, Massachusetts
GEORGE H. STROBELL, - - - - Newark, New Jersey.
PAUL H. CASTLE, - - - - Central Park, Montana
J. STITT WILSON, - - - - - Berkeley, California
W. B. GALLAHER, - - - - Danville, Illinois
WILLIAM R. BENNETT, - - - - Marion, Indiana
CARL D. THOMPSON, - - - - Minneapolis, Minnesota
WINFIELD R. GAYLORD, - - - Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Please do not send stamps for subscriptions or bundle orders above ten cents. Stamps are not legal tender. We can not sell them and we need the cash to pay bills with.

THE CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST may be had for ONE CENT PER COPY in bundles of ten or more. This is less than cost. We thus divide the expense of propaganda work with you. Keep it going.

NO BILLS FOLLOW THE CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST. If you get it REGULARLY, somebody has paid for it. When your subscription expires we will notify you.

## THE KNIGHTS AND THE KING

The knights rode up with gifts for the King
  And one was a jeweled sword,
And one was a suit of golden mail,
  And one was a golden Word.

He buckled the shining armor on,
  And he girt the sword at his side;
But he flung at his feet the golden Word,
  And trampled it in his pride.

The armor is pierced with many spears,
  And the sword is breaking in twain;
But the Word hath risen in storm and fire,
  To vanquish and to reign.

—William Watson.

## What is Life?

The consciousness of vital relations, the infinite longing and questioning, the infinite answer unfolding,—This is Life.

To those who meet life with an exalted love, great enrichment through deep experience comes. The developing power of an exalted grief is equalled only by that of an exalted joy. Happy indeed are they who know both.—Rev. W. F. Trussell, Detroit, Minn.

## To Any Y. M. C. A. Reader

A friend last year paid a year's subscription for "The Christian Socialist" to be sent to the Y. M. C. A. reading rooms throughout the United States and Canada. The subscription will soon expire, and the friend would like to renew it on behalf of every place where the paper has even one reader. Please, therefore as soon as you have read this notice, mail a postal card to "The Christian Socialist" stating that the paper is read in your place. It is not necessary even for you to sign your name, although we should be glad if you would do so.

We are honored and happy in being able to present our readers with "The Gospel of Corporate Man" by Peter E. Burrowes, a noted thinker and writer. It will run through several future issues of this paper. Do not fail to read it all.

Perhaps I should say that in my article in last issue on Russia the types accuse me of some mistakes which were not in the copy, as "Hozar" for Hazar, "Maurikins" for Maurikius, "sexular" for sexual, etc. Also, the word "hope" in the first line of "The Problem Stated" by Monod should be pope. And other mistakes which appeared may be charged also to the mysterious perversity of proof-reading. Even when I am at home and have a chance at the proofs, strange mistakes occur. Let the reader be as patient as possible. Our proof-reader is sadly overworked. Someday, soon we hope, we shall be able to hire force enough to do the work without reading proof when we should be resting in sleep.—E. E. C.

## Where Thermometers Freeze

### (Editorial Itinerary)

One of the most pleasant and impressive features of this northern trip is the interest manifested in the message of Christian Socialism. At about every other place where I speak once, and every place where I speak twice, the comrades choose the Christian Socialist lecture and are very much interested in it. Once in a while it does not seem to take very well, but generally it arouses much enthusiasm. The essential truth and sanity of the moral and religious plea for socialism is easily recognized by most of those who hear it; and its practical utility as an element of our socialist propaganda is clearly seen and frankly admitted.

At both Minneapolis and St. Paul the comrades manifested much interest in and appreciation of this phase of the work; and the Methodist Preachers' Association of each city kindly invited me to address them. It would be of immense advantage to declare our message in its threefold phase—economic, moral and spiritual—before every ministers' association in the world. The preachers are generally interested, sympathetic and quick to ask questions which tend to bring out the most practical points; and they are, as a class, coming rapidly into harmony with our movement. Dr. Frank Dixon, who is trying to alarm the nation against socialism, declares that there are more preachers in the socialist movement in proportion to their numbers than any other trade or profession. At many places now there are ministers bravely standing for our great Gospel.

At one place the M. E. minister who heard my lecture on Saturday night said in his pulpit the next morning that he endorsed it all and wanted his people to understand just where he stood. At another place the M. E. preacher called upon me and stated his harmony with our movement. At another it was the Congregational preacher who rallied to the call. At Cass Lake our meetings were in the M. E. Church, the pastor being sympathetic. Unfortunately, as I seldom stay more than one or two nights at a place, the traveling and writing take so much time that I can not do the personal work among the preachers I would like and which so much needs to be done.

It is easy to see that the spirit of narrow impossiblism and intolerance is passing from the party. The broader, saner, more effective spirit and method are prevailing and soon the only test of loyalty anywhere required in the socialist movement will be that of the doctrine of collectivism and party loyalty. No Christian Socialist seeks to prevent a materialist from membership and activity in the party, and soon no materialist will attempt to prevent a Christian. On political grounds no creed-test can be permitted. But the proclamation of the socialist message from the religious viewpoint meets with glad response in most places. People have not lost confidence in religion—the true, proletarian, class-conscious, revolutionary religion of Jesus and the apostles,—they have only lost confidence in the capitalist brand of religion which denies the practicability of the Sermon on the Mount in business and politics.

Speaking of impossiblism, the Impossiblists of Minnesota have fully justified their nick-name. At their recent state convention they split over such vital questions as whether a worker who employs a helper might be permitted to join their party; while all such dangerous characters as preachers, doctors, lawyers, merchants and the like were forbidden. They seem to have split into three fragments, one part going to the S. L. P., one part deciding still to hold out against the Minnesota State Committee and one part wildly proposing a new national party! They have thus proven that they are Impossiblists and not socialists, for socialists do not believe in "dividing up!" The charge that they are mere disruptionists seems fully justified by their own conduct.

It is pleasing and significant also to observe that since this notable "State Convention" the Toledo Socialist has maintained a most eloquent and impressive silence with reference to the Minnesota situation. For which we are profoundly thankful; for it is an able paper and both Mailly and Titus are strong men and sincere, who will doubtless do the cause of socialism far more good in future than they have during the past year. And as this painful incident passes to the tomb, let us learn its lessons, cease all disruption and persecution, forgive each other and "go forward" together under the crimson banner of socialism.

Meanwhile, it is pleasing and encouraging to note that the regular movement in Minnesota is welcoming the prodigal branches back and shows a larger dues-paying membership than ever before. And the people of the state are turning to socialism. Almost everywhere I have been, a branch has been organized unless there was one before. At Detroit City, where they had never before had a public meeting, the audience was large in spite of extreme cold, and twenty joined the new branch.

After the meeting a lawyer, a minister and another inquirer conversed with me till the "wee, small hours", asking questions, stating difficulties, etc., and the next day the lawyer said: "Well, you made three socialist votes last night at my office, anyway."

Since last writing I have seen snowdrifts and felt cold indeed, driving seventeen miles in the face of a fierce, unbearable gale with the thermometer away down in the 'teens; getting up before daylight to make a train with the mercury at 46 below and most thermometers frozen out of business, and speaking night after night in cold halls with an injurious and painful cold in head and throat.—Next winter I am going south!—E. E. C.

# The Russian Revolution II

During the last fifteen years events have moved rapidly in Russia. In 1890 Count Witte, then Minister of Finance, begun the govermental development of industry which has resulted in the establishment of many factories, mines and railroads. The railroads are owned by the government, the factories and mines by private capital. Within five years after Count Witte entered upon this policy 927 joint stock companies were formed with a capital of $1,400,000. This development has steadily continued. As a result many thousands of people have recently found employment in the factories, mines and railroads, which has somewhat relieved the distress of multitudes, although wages are extremely low. And with these new modes of work came the Labor Union, which, since the Russians have no ballot, seems destined to prove the chief factor in the revolution.

The Labor Unions of Europe are not the disjointed bodies of craft antagonists we find in this country. They are organized on the basis of solidarity. Not only railroad men, telegraphers, factory hands, electrical workers and miners, but skilled drug-clerks, lawyers and doctors are bound together to join the strike when ordered. This makes it possible to tie up all business, plunge the city in darkness, stop trains, cut off messages and close up stores and offices, as was demonstrated in the recent strikes at St. Petersburg and Moscow.

Outside of the regular taxes the government derives a large income from its monopoly of the railroads and the liquor business. This accounts in part for the peculiar hostility of the revolutionists toward the railroads and for their general attempt to get the workers to cease drinking intoxicants. They thus seek to cripple the finances of the government.

Through the ceaseless, secret activity of the socialists for thirty years and the more recent educational influence of the labor unions, Russia now seems in the midst of a great awakening. When the famous old Russian heroine and martyr, Catherine Breshkovsky, who visited America two years ago, said: "In a few months they will rise by millions," we were inclined to think she was talking in a dream; but recent events show that she understood how general and how strong were the revolutionary organizations. They are much stronger now.

Tremendous events have transpired within the last twelve months and the mighty drama has only begun.

On Sunday afternoon, January 22, 1905, moved by their present suffering and their accumulated wrongs, a procession of unarmed men, women and children marched into the open space before the royal palace to present a peaceful, imploring petition to the Tzar to grant them a shorter work-day, the ballot and a chance to live. They were answered by a deadly volley from the muskets of the army, their peaceful plea was denounced as "insolence" and they were murdered by the hundreds in cold blood.

The event shocked and sickened the whole world. It revealed to all mankind, and especially to the long suffering Russian people, the fiendish cruelty of the Russian government. It maddened the revolutionary organizations, and from that day the activity of the enemies of the Russian despotism have been unceasing and effective.

In June the Kniaz Potemkin, the best ship in the Black Sea fleet, mutinied and maintained her independence alone for more than a week on the open sea.

At Kronstadt, the national navy yard the sailors mutinied, demanding better food and pay, and resisted the Cossacks for several days. They were finally subdued by overwhelming odds and 150 of their leaders were shot.

On Nov. 24, the Kniaz Potemkin went on a rampage again, nine other warships joining in the mutiny. They were joined by the Brest regiment and 10,000 volunteers on land. The battle lasted several days, resulting in the destruction of much of the city, several ships and thousands of lives, with no permanent result on either side. It was the Lexington of the Russian revolution.

At Odessa the government incited a frightful and merciless massacre of the Jews in which the Cossacks took open part and the government officials looked on laughing. Thousands of defenceless, innocent men, women and children were slain and tens of thousands impoverished, and the only protection the poor Jews had—all too slight—were the bands of socialist students and workingmen who hurled themselves, often unarmed, against the sabers of the murderous Cossacks, offering their lives a protest against this monstrous government crime. This dreadful event puts the Jews on the side of the revolution en mass.

At Vladivostock and Nagasaki on the far Pacific ocean the revolution broke out among the soldiers of the Manchurian army and for a week chaos and pandemonium reigned. Millions of dollars worth of property was destroyed, thousands of soldiers killed on both sides and the terror of the government increased tenfold; for now she dare not bring her eastern army home lest it join with the revolutionists and destroy the Cossacks and she can not find the money to sustain the army in the east. What if the Manchurian army should proclaim and enforce the independence of Siberia where dwell the many exiles of freedom?

In December a giant demonstration was made by the revolutionists at St. Petersburg and Moscow by means of a strike of railroaders, telegraphers and electricians. All trains were stopped, these great cities were cut off from telegraphic communication with the rest of the world and plunged in total darkness.

At Moscow the revolution broke out in terrific power. Barricades were erected in the street. Thousands of students and workers, men and women, fought day and night. When one set of barricades were shot to pieces with cannon and carried with great carnage by the Cossacks, a new set of defenses sprung up like magic in the night and other thousands of volunteers stood ready to die for freedom. The frightful battle raged day and night for over a week. At one time every railway station but one was in the hands of the revolutionists. The Cossacks, worn out by unceasing warfare and kept awake by vodka, ran amuck murdering each other and every one they met. At last, however, owing to lack of arms and ammunition, after a loss of 15,000 men and women, the revolutionists gave up the demonstration and separated to await a more favorable time. The city (of more than 1,000,000 inhabitants) was strewn with wreckage from cannon, fire and barricades and everywhere were dead bodies and blood. This victory cost the government so dearly and showed the revolutionary strength so great that it may truly be called the Bunker Hill of the Russian revolution.

Meanwhile the revolution has been raging in Poland and the Caucausus to the terror and confusion of the government. And to keep the Finns quiet in this crisis the Tzar has restored their ancient constitution, granting them more freedom than is enjoyed by any other province under Russian rule.

As I write, news comes of another terrible outbreak among the troops at Vladivostock. Thousands of revolutionary soldiers took possession of the great battery of the Holy Innocents (a very appropriate name for a fortress of Holy Russia.) And with machine and seige guns beat back the forces of Gen. Linevitch and compelled an armed truce. The issue of this conflict is not yet reported.

Thus we see that in one brief year there have been no less than eight bloody battles, besides many other significant and stirring events in Russia, the remembrance of which will help us to realize how wide-spread and forceful is the insurrection. Comparing this with the first year of the American or French revolution we see that the Russian revolution is begun upon a vaster scale than either of them within that time—E. E. C.

## THE MESSAGE OF JESUS TO THE 20th CENTURY

It is a long way from the Palestine of the First Century to the America of the Twentieth Century, and the attempt to make out what Jesus has to say to us here and now will be fulfilled if we can agree, first, upon the spirit of his main message to his countrymen; and second, if we can apply that same spirit to ourselves and the conditions we live in, and agree what particular things it calls upon us to do here and now.

However, a closer answer than this can be found. When we take the proclamation with which Jesus began his career, the "good news to the poor" and transpose the words he used into modern terms for the same conceptions, a singular parallelism springs to light. What was this, his initiative and main message? As it stands in our English Bible it is "Repent, for the Kingdom of God is at hand"; but beginning with the first word "repent", this word is not even a mistranslation, it is merely an ecclesiastical substitution for the word Jesus used. What he said was, in Greek, "*Metanoiesthe*", which means "make your minds over"—"face about in your thinking"—"revolutionize your ideas". So breezy and so forward-looking was the summons of the young prophet,—no sickly, cloister-bred call to the wasting of emotion on the irretrievable past.

"The Kingdom of God is at hand." We first need to ask what Jesus meant by the term "God". There can be no question but that he meant a certain principle in men's treatment of each other. He meant also, equally without question, that this principle is the very heart and soul of the universe. But what is primary in his message is the human meaning of the term. What then is this principle in human conduct which he says is to become supreme? One of his own striking sentences tells us—that sentence which, like a lightning flash, shows the picture of the two hostile principles in the form of two irreconcilable masters, God and Mammon.

One of his followers in three words gave the positive definition in the same sense, "God is Love". God, then, means union, organization, mutually arranged activity for the common good of all; as against division, inequality, each-man-for-himself; in modern terms, co-operation as against competition. The message of Jesus, therefore, transposed into modern terms, stands like this: "*Revolutionize your ideas, for the era of co-operation is at hand.*"

"At hand!" *then* in one sense, in another sense *now*. Then, in the glorious sense that the banner of justice and brotherhood was set up, and that the true-hearted had the chance to enlist in the long fight. In the sense of the mustard seed and the leaven; in the sense that every listener might have the joy of merging himself into the divine process certain to lead to the consummation—the union of mankind.

"At hand!" now in a sense even more thrilling. In the sense that human co-operation is at last achievable; that the evolution of industry has created a breed of men—the proletariat—in whom the principle of union is compelling and automatic; that the tree is three-quarters grown, the lump three-quarters leavened; and that the lover of Jesus has only to throw in his lot with the workers in their struggle, to feel the strength of ten in every blow he strikes. Now therefore, at this moment, as never before, we may hear that awakening voice speaking from the unseen, though not far from every one of us, and saying "*Revolutionize your ideas, for the era of co-operation is here!*"—Rufus W, Weeks.

# ITEMS FROM EVERYWHERE

EDITED BY GEO. H. STROBELL

W. S. Waudby of the U. S. Dept. of Labor, states that over 1,750,000 boys and girls between 10 and 15 years of age are at work at gainful occupations in the United States.

A Boston preacher told the naked truth the other day when he declared that "the times are under the ban of an economic determinism, which makes virtue, especially Christian virtue, impossible. A complete reorganization of the economic world is the sort of revolution needed."

Those of us who have witnessed the amazing spread in the several instances in the last twenty-five years of farmers' organizations, have perhaps been hoping that at last, in the young and vigorous Farmers' Union, which, although only about two years old, has already more live locals and members than the whole grange organization, we would see signs of such "economic knowledge" as would lead us to hail them as comrades. But their recent appearance before the F. of L. at Pittsburg asking the labor organizations to join in a crusade against the speculation in cotton, is rather a shallow proceeding. I have an idea that one of these days we shall wake up to find a whirlwind campaign for Socialism on among the farmers that will make our work among the city people look petty and cheap.

The annual election by the National Committee for National Secretary resulted in the re-election of Comrade Barnes by a large majority. William Mailly and John M. Work received a clean majority for members of the National Executive Committee. Another ballot will be taken at once for the remaining members.

"A sympathetic strike proves that working people are the most truly Christian class of society, for there is never so unselfish a movement among the so-called upper class. Did a single professor resign because of the wrong done to Professor Bemis? Did a single bank clerk protest against the unjust dismissal of silver men from New York? Did a single minister offer to share his salary with the Rev. Myron Reed when that great champion of the poor gave up his church rather than be silent on the great issues of the day?"H. N. Casson.

Factory Inspector Jonathan W. Davis of the state of Pennsylvania, in an extended report to the state department, complains that so many women are employed in factories in his district that many men are idle on the streets. He says: "There are too many men walking the streets in idleness while the women are working. Seven thousand five hundred and sixty-two females are employed in twenty-nine different occupations in the factories and similar establishments, while in the same places the number of men employed is 7,792.—Cleveland Citizen.

There will be 58 members on the National Committee of 1906, an increase of three over last year.

Governor Deneen of Illinois, has decided to appoint Professor Charles R. Henderson of the University of Chicago as chairman of a state commission of five persons, to prepare a system of state industrial and old-age pensions for the wage-earning classes. The commission is "to submit a bill to the next Legislature, though there is no doubt about that body's attitude toward such legislation.

This may readily be understood as the first step toward some concessions to the working class, in response to the Socialist vote, which is larger in Illinois than in any other state and which showed a remarkable increase in the last general election.

At last Great Britain is taking something like its due place in the international labor and Socialist movement. That former issues are giving way and that class lines are being drawn in politics is plainly to be seen. Protestant Orange ulster joins the Catholic provinces of Ireland in electing Home Rulers and wealthy Liberals, disgusted with their party's alliance with the labor forces, openly campaign with the Conservative Unionists. The London Times says editorially:

"What we are now witnessing is really not an expression of admiration for Liberal statesmanship or a wholesale condemnation of Mr. Balfour. It is not a verdict upon the issues that the politicians imagined themselves prescribing for the electors. While they have been disputing about their issues, another issue has been shaping itself after the fashion of such things, quietly, silently, without observation. That issue is whether the working classes who form the bulk of the electorate, are to decide the policy they desire, or go on contenting themselves with choosing between the policies offered to them by the traditional parties. They have decided for the first alternative. They have done what some observers expected them to do long ago, but what they had so long abstained from doing that these observers had forgotten to go on expecting it.

Where the workingmen run candidates of their own they have returned them with immense majorities. Where they have not had their own candidates, they have done the next best thing, by sinking ordinary political differences and concentrating upon the Liberal candidate as the one most lavish of promise. In several cases when they have not been sure themselves, they have missed a seat they might have won.

But their direct nominees are going to form a considerable section of the new House of Commons, and the Liberals from whom they have extorted promises and who owe to them their seats, are also very numerous."

The term "Labor candidates" needs explanation to our readers. Besides the Social Democratic Federation, there exists in England the Independent Labor Party, the Fabian Society, and several independent Socialist organizations. Also, there is the Labor Representation Committee, to which the I. L. P. and the Fabians are affiliated, though the S. D. F. holds aloof. Though not affiliated with the L. R. C., the S. D. F. and the various independent Socialist organizations throw their strength in its favor where they are not strong enough to nominate themselves. Then there is this year an understanding between the L. R. C. and some of the more radical Liberals whereby a working partnership is secured, for instance, where some parliamentary divisions poll for two members the Radical Liberals nominate only one, leaving the other open for a Labor man, and thus combine forces. All this would seem to us very confusing and demoralizing, but that is always the way in the incipiency of any new movement. There is everything to warrant its expectation that the victories won and the strength shown will exert a most powerful pressure towards a union of organizations. Platforms and tendencies, now vague, will become clear. A political class party spirit will be beaten into existence by the battles over the class problems in parliament. All hail! The Socialist Party of Great Britain.

James Keir Hardie, the well known chairman of the Independent Labor party and member of the house of commons, telegraphed in response to an inquiry that the story that the success of the Labor party in the present election was due to a large contribution to its funds by Andrew Carnegie is untrue. He adds:

"Mr. Carnegie in 1890 sent $500 to my election fund, which I forwarded to his locked out, starving workmen at Homestead, since when he has not troubled us. Our election campaign fund comes from trade unions, the Independent Labor party, and Socialists."—Chicago Tribune.

In London Justice J. B. McNab writes of the annual conference of the Scottish Miners' Federation, which was held in Edinburgh. He says: "The deliberations and decisions of the conference were even more encouraging from a Socialist point of view, than those of last year. The Scottish miners have now accepted the whole Socialist program with acclamation." The conference decided to educate the rank and file to the Socialist ideal, and the Executive Council was charged with the duty of arranging regular meetings in the various districts for this purpose.

"It has been charged that the Federation, under the new regime, has been converted into a political machine. This is not true. The essential economic features of the movement are as they were before. But when it comes to the use of the ballot, the organization is committed to the policy that it is the duty of union men to vote their class interests as well as to strike for them, and that the man who fails to do this is not in any true sense a union man, nor is he loyal to his fellow-workers. Objections have been made that the organization now controls a member's politics, and that it has as good a right to control his religion. This deduction will not hold good. A man's religion is his own individual affair, and does not concern his fellow man. But this is not true of his politics, for if he uses his vote to fasten a system of industrial slavery upon his fellows, they have a right to object and they are at least justified in interfering to the extent that his action affects their interests."

Socialists of Germany have contributed over $50,000 to the Russian revolutionists.

On January 14, a great manifesto was issued by the Socialists of Prussia, demanding universal suffrage in the election of the diet. This manifesto was followed on the 21st by a series of mass meetings held in every nook and corner of the country. These mass meetings commemorated "Bloody Sunday" and at the same time raised the question whether the time had come for declaring a political general strike.

The comrades in Saxony recently held great demonstrations to demand universal suffrage. At Dresden, a crowd which had more or less unconsciously, more from the habits formed by military training than intention, formed a procession, was attacked without warning by the mounted police with drawn swords. The feeling among the proletariat is undescribably bitter and they are now determined to conquer the suffrage.

The Socialist party in Italy has put forward a demand for universal suffrage regardless of sex. Turati and the revisionists voted against female suffrage and the declaration of the class war. All over Europe the revisionists are taking the reactionary position that woman is inferior to man and should be dealt with as such. We are glad to have our enemies inside the party thus expose themselves.

The Socialists have finally separated themselves from all other parties in France and from this time on the slogan will be "No compromise; no political trading."

G. Herve, U. Gohrer and several others who have been prominent in the anti-militarist agitation of France and who signed an address to the soldiers advising them to shoot officers it ordered to fire on the people and to desert if there was war, have been tried and sentenced to from one to four years' imprisonment.

In a recent article in "L'Humanite" upon the systematic agitation for universal suffrage which the Prussian Socialists have begun this week Jean Jaures expresses the opinion that the Kaiser's aggressive policy in the Morocco affair is due to a wish to get up a war scare and stir up German "patriotism" in order to divert attention from domestic questions. In the interest alike of international peace and of Socialist progress, therefore, Comrade Jaures urges Frenchmen to keep cool. He says:

"It is a great crisis which is now beginning. If France prudently avoids giving the Kaiser a diversion by incidents of foreign policy, William II. will find himself cae to face with serious domestic difficulties. The German social system is a solid piece of masonry; but when three millions of men begin to agitate, even if that agitation be as yet slow and somewhat inert, the whole edifice is shaken. The contrast is too violent between the power of the Social Democracy and the oligarchical regime, which in Prussia, as in Saxony, completely excludes the people from the Landtag. The fortresses of privilege will fall, and when universal suffrage has been proclaimed in each one of the German states, when in several of them a Socialist majority has legally attained office, when the Prussian squirearchy, the nursery and support of militarism, is no longer protected by a political regime of caste, the whole of Germany will be transformed."—The Worker.

According to statistics which have just been compiled by the insurance men, the number of persons killed and injured in the mills, mines and on the railroad in Allegheny county, Pennsylvania, during the past year reached the enormous total of 17,700 in round numbers.

"These are the cases of which there is some actual record, although there are hundreds of others which are never reported. Most of the victims received their injuries in the steel mills and in the furnaces."

The woman suffragists are jubilant over the news from Oregon that the women have succeeded in obtaining the signatures of one-tenth the registered voters to a petition for the submission of an equal suffrage amendment to popular vote under the initiative and referendum law.

The city of Chicago wants a new charter. Through Mr. Daniel L. Cruice, a member of the charter convention, the Socialist party of Chicago gave to the convention and the public the form of charter it proposes for the city. Acting under authority from the County Central Committee the legal committee had long labored over the draft, finally adopting the same a little before Christmas and instructing its secretary, Comrade William Bross Lloyd, to secure its introduction into the charter convention.

Mr. Cruice spoke as follows:

"Mr. Chairman—It has been called to my attention that there is a political party in the city of Chicago which is not represented in this convention, either as a party or by an individual member. I refer to the Socialist party, Mr. Chairman, and I have been asked by the representative of that party to present the charter adopted by it as its proposed charter for the city of Chicago. It has been drawn by the legal committee of the Socialist party with great care and expenditure of effort and deserves our careful consideration. I move you that it be published and the consideration thereof be deferred." The draft was referred to the committee on general plans.

Stripped of legal verbiage, the charter is extremely simple. It first bounds the city of Chicago the only change from the present boundaries being that the northern boundary runs due east from the Lake Shore to the Illinois State boundary line and thence south along that line to its intersection with the old boundary line. The inhabitants within those boundaries are then constituted a corporation, the city of Chicago. On that corporation is conferred power to do anything not naturally impossible and which is not expressly prohibited by the constitution or laws of the United States or the constitution of Illinois, including the right to draft, alter or amend its own charter. Primarily these powers are to be exercised by those inhabitants whether men or women who are 21 years of age not criminals or insane. They are to be exercised directly by them by means of the initiative and referendum and by such officers as they may elect or appoint, which officers are subject to the initiative, referendum and recall. Subject to the exercise by the people of the powers conferred on the city, the City Council is made an executive committee. All its acts and those of the officers it selects to carry out its determinations are subject to the initiative and referendum and the recall. The petitions for the initiative, referendum and recall are carefully guarded and a reasonably high number of signatures required. The charter is only to go into force on adoption by the people.—Chicago Socialist.

## TO LOVE IS NOT TO NAME

My Lover's love hath never failed
Though oft by faithlessness assailed,—
    Though oft I wandered sore.
O wondrous Love that walks beside,
Upbearing me whate'er betide!—
    I shall not wander more.

Close to the clasp containing me;
Close to the eyes that clearly see,—
    Closer today than e'er.
Let Love its victory proclaim;
Willing, bear I the captive name,—
    Freer than unfelt air.

Who is the Lover that I confess?
What name compels my answer Yes?—
    Content, content with this:
Though oft my faithlessness assailed,
My Lover's love hath never failed—
    The **name** adds naught to bliss.
—Edwin Arnold Brenholtz.

◆

## CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIALISM IN FRANCE

(TRANSLATED FROM LE CLOCKE D'ALARME.)

This was the subject at a debating meeting of the Young Men's Christian Union of Paris, Saturday evening, Oct. 14. There was a good attendance, which appeared to be deeply interested.

The subject was introduced by Citizen Paul Passy, who spoke for about half an hour. Proving on the one hand the mutual mistrust which Christians and Socialists often viewed each other, he recalled on the other hand the declaration of several socialist congresses, affirming freedom in respect to religious or philosophic opinions within the party and the significant words of some prominent Socialists, such as Audler, Bebel, and Vandervelde; he further showed that it is not a rare thing to witness in Protestant countries that which would appear strange in France, men uniting Christian with Socialist convictions, such as Citizens Keir Hardie and Henderson, members of the British Parliament, and our friends of the Collectivist Society of New York.

Seeking the points common to both doctrines he first of all enumerated the following: The affirmation of absolute equality of rights for all human beings—international brotherhood; the peculiar sympathy for the poor and oppressed; the ardent aspiration for perfect justice and faith in its final triumph.

Then he showed, supporting himself by the Gospel, that communism is the economic ideal of primitive Christianity. Arriving then at the point upon which the Christian and the Socialist are, or appear to be, in disagreement, he showed that we had to do sometimes with mere misunderstandings and some very superficial ones. He recognized, nevertheless, the existence of more serious divergencies but he explained them this way: Historic Christianity is a very different thing to the Christianity of Jesus and the apostles; almost from the beginning it had been invaded by pagan infiltrations derived from platonism or oriental asceticism; it had thus been unfaithful to a whole part of its initial programme, to which even at times it had taken the other side. Socialism, born like historic Christianity of the Gospel, had taken possession precisely of that which the latter had laid on one side. Opposition exists, therefore, red and deep, **but between an incomplete Christianity and a cramped Socialism.** On both sides that which is lacking is commencing to make itself felt; the yet timid movement of Christianity called social on the one hand, the declarations of men like Fouruiere, Jaures, Rouanet, Vandervelde on the other hand are the proof. The speaker, in concluding, said: "That which is necessary is to make a bold synthesis which will reconstitute in all its beauty the programme of primitive Christianity.

Following the words of Henri Babot, we must hasten the time when Christianity brought back to its first principles, delivered from its adulterous alliances with those enemies of the Cross of Christ, capitalism, militarism, clericalism, shall have again become Socialist, that is to say revolutionary, communistic, international."

The discussion that followed was both animated and cordial; but, let it be remarked, nobody took up the defense of society as it is, all appeared to have understood that there was an unreducible antagonism between the capitalistic regime and Christian principles.

The event of the evening was the intervention of Citizen Biville, Socialist candidate for deputy from the second circumscription of Caen. After having shown in a luminous manner the Socialist conception of the class struggle, which is not a deserted ideal, but a proven fact that we want to show up so as to cause its cessation by the actual suppression of classes, and after having frankly recognized that which is lacking to the majority of Socialists, our friend made a burning appeal to Christians, inviting them to later vote the great party for proletarian claims, to infuse it with the moral sap that it needed and at the same time to become inflamed with its generous ardor, to regenerate by this means both Christianity and Socialism. Unanimous applause welcomed these words and as the late hour made the close of the meeting necessary several of those present expressed the desire to take up the question again at a subsequent meeting. Citizen Biville being asked to introduce the subject.

## SOCIALISM WOULD DESTROY "GRAFTING"

By W. B. GALLAHER.

Grafting could not continue under Socialism, simply because Socialism would leave no room, no opportunity, no desire to graft. Grafting exists for "**the money there is in it'**" because of the power and pleasure it will bring **under the capitalistic order.**

Money is a lawful medium of commercial and industrial exchanges. Any medium which will lawfully effect such exchanges, may be called "money." But nothing which, under the Co-operative Commonwealth, could be called money would or could have any power to exalt one man above another in possessions, benefits, pleasures or influence.

Under the rule of the Co-operative Commonwealth all labor would be one grand, **collective and equal copartnership,** the products of which would belong equally to one and all, and would be kept for distribution in storehouses arranged for the greatest possible speed and convenience of distribution. Each citizen being entitled to an equal share of all the products thus stored up, would have to possess some means—medium—by which he could lawfully draw his share of the common products. To this end nothing more would be necessary than legal tender bits of pasteboard, of the various money denominations, issued to each citizen in the amount necessary to correspond in nominal value to the real value of the goods due him, and which would be simply legal orders for those goods. These orders could not, in the nature of the case, pass from hand to hand, repeatedly drawing their face value in goods, as gold, silver and paper money now do under capitalism.

They would be serviceable only to the original holder of them or his lawful representative, and not serviceable even to these more than once. These orders for goods being valueless to any and all but their original owner, could not, in the nature of things, be objects of grafting or of any conceivable kind of thievery. Nor could their possession confer any economic power or benefit whatever upon any man in the Co-operative Commonwealth, not equally enjoyed by every other one therein.

Thus Socialism would utterly destroy grafting, and is the only conceivable kind of government which could do so. For the Socialist Co-operative Commonwealth is the only possible form of human government, the very constitution and nature of which, makes it impossible for a man to rob another without robbing **himself** as one of the "firm," the copartnership robbed.

### MINNESOTA NEWS ITEMS

Victor Judin, secretary of No. Cambridge, writes: "Many members have not been with us for a long time, but all turned out to hear Comrade Carr and paid up their back dues. Great interest was manifest and prospects are brighter than they have been for a long time. We expect the local will again go to work for socialism and hope to make things lively in this part of the country."

L. D. Rose, secretary of Two Harbors, writes: "E. E. Carr was here Saturday and Sunday. Results: The Methodist minister became so greatly interested in the Saturday evening's speech as to advise his congregation to attend the Sunday afternoon lecture. Sixteen applications for membership in the local were received. Hereafter regular weekly meetings will be held to take up the study of the Mills book, 'The Struggle for Existence.' Everybody here is enthusiastic over Carr. We want him for three more lectures."

M. A. Bratland delivered the address at Thiaf River Falls in commemoration of Red Sunday before a large and appreciative audience, and afterwards reorganized the local with ten members.

Red Sunday was celebrated at Minneapolis by a large joint meeting of Fins, Jews, Poles and English speaking comrades with a magnificent address by Comrade E. E. Carr, which gave perfect satisfaction to all.

Meetings were also held in various other places, and especially in the Iron Range where the Finish comrades held great demonstrations at every available point.

There are fifteen Finish locals in the state and most of them are making arrangements to send delegates to the state convention to be held in Minneapolis Feb. 22 and 23. Dr. A. F. Tanner of Ely will act as interpreter for their membership coming from the Range.

This convention gives promise of being the largest and most representative of any yet held in the state. Most of the locals have already signified their intention of being represented. The local comrades are preparing to furnish entertainment, and will wind up the evening of Feb. 23rd with a lecture by Walter Thomas Mills.

William L. Morgan, organizer of the newly reorganized local of Maine, writes: "There is greater interest here than ever before. There are men here who have voted the straight republican ticket since Lincoln's time are now coming out for Socialism. It's in the air."

Thirty dollars more has been received for dues up to Jan. 27th than for any other full month in the history of the party with the one exception of December, which b[illegible] all previous records by nearly $50.[illegible] better still, with the possible exception of a half dozen members who trusted too implicitly in the cry of Cheos that was raised some time since, and have hardly found their bearings since, the utmost harmony and good fellowship everywhere prevails. Minnesota will give a good account of herself at the next fall's election.

N. E. NASH, State Sec.

### WISCONSIN NOTES

Comrade Victor L. Berger has positively declined to accept the nomination for mayor of Milwaukee. Having run for mayor in the spring of 1904 and congressman in the fall of 1904, he believes that some other comrade should act as standard-bearer in the approaching city campaign.

Ward candidates are now being selected by the Milwaukee Social-Democrats with extreme care. As there is a certainty that we shall increase our number of aldermen in the city council, all feel that the choice of candidates must be made with great discrimination.

Gertrude Breslau Hunt of Chicago, has been holding highly successful meetings in this state. In spite of most discouraging weather, her audiences have been large and intensely enthusiastic. Comatose branches have been revived to life and reorganized, and the strong branches awakened to new energy and devotion. We hope it will not be considered an anti-climax to add that her collections have broken all records.

E. H. THOMAS, State Sec.